this region, Southern Min is also spoken in south of Amoy, parts of eastern Kwangtung, and in Hainan. There are approximately 8,000,000 speakers in the region. 197

F. Non-Chinese Languages

As regards the non-Chinese languages in this region, Li is spoken in the mountainous areas in Hainan; the T'ai dialects are spoken in southern and western Kwangsi, under various tribal names; Miao is spoken in the mountainous areas in western Hunan; Yao is spoken in some mountainous districts in Kwangtung and Kwangsi. There are still some unknown languages, such as that of Ke Lao, spoken here and there in Hunan and Kwangsi. Altogether speakers of these non-Chinese languages in the region number approximately 7,500,000. 198

III. DISTINGUISHING FEATURES OF THE DIALECTS

A. Northern Mandarin

Dialects of the Northern Mandarin have in common the following distinguishing features: 197 194

1. There are two kinds of affricative consonants which are not voiced and voiceless as b, d, g, dz and p, t, ts in English, but voiceless and unaspirated, commonly expressed in phonetic symbols of the Wade-Giles system of Romanization as p, t, k, ts and p', t', k', ts' respectively. Roughly speaking, p, t, k sound like English p, t, k in speak, still, and skill; and p', t', and k' sound like English

p, t, k in peak, till, and kill. Voiced consonants such as b, d, g of English do not exist in Northern Mandarin. 197 194.

2. There is a set of retroflex affricatives and fricatives distinguishable from dental affricatives and fricatives. For example:

Chu (pig) : tsu (to rent)
Ch'eng (city wall) : ts'eng (storey, layer)
Shan (hill) : san (three)

3. The gutteral nasal ng does not occur in the initial position of a word as it usually does in many other dialect groups.

4. A vowel scheme such as the following exists:

	Front		Central	Back	
	Unrounded	Rounded		Unrounded	Rounded
High	i	ü			u
Mid	e		ə	ê	o
Low			a		

With an additional symbol for the apical vowel, the above scheme will suffice to indicate all the vowel sounds of these dialects. Ordinarily, e and ə, or ê and o, are not distinguishable.

5. Only two final nasals, n and ng are found, except in Shansi, and they are distinguishable regardless of the vowel preceding them.

Lan (indigo) : lang (wolf)
Chen (true) : cheng (to steam)
Min (people) : ming (name)
Sun (grandchild) : sung (loose)
Ch'un (a crowd) : ch'iung (poor, impoverished)

6. There are four tones. The pitch of the first tone is high-level; that of the second, high-rising; that of the third, low-dipping and that of the fourth, high-falling. Graphically, these four tones may be represented as follows: ˥, ˧, ˨˩, and ˥˩, respectively. However, the dialects spoken in Shansi and areas adjacent to it have an additional fifth tone, which is always associated with a glottal stop in a final position. The dialects spoken in northwestern Honan adjacent to Shansi are rather like those spoken in Shansi. That is to say, they have a fifth tone, originating from the ancient "entering" tone and associating with a final glottal stop. Another characteristic of these dialects is that n and ng rarely occur after the vowels a and e.

B. Southwestern Mandarin

Southwestern Mandarin does not differ very much from Northern Mandarin, and it has the following distinguishing characteristics:

1. Such syllables as fu and hu, and sometimes fei and hu(e)i or fung and hung are not distinguished. The resultant merged forms are either fu, fei, or hu, hu(e)i, hung.

2. The initials n and l are not distinguished except in some Yunnan dialects. However, there is a tendency to treat these two sounds as conditioned variants or partially conditioned variants of a sound unit. That is to say that l is heard before mid and low vowels while n is heard before high vowels, or that while either n or l may occur as free variants before mid and low vowels, n occurs reguarly before high vowels.

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3. Retroflex initials are not as commonly used as in Northern Mandarin. 197 194

4. The glutteral nasal ng usually precedes the Northern Mandarin zero-initial when the latter is not a high vowel. Thus, words pronounced like ai (to love), e (forehead), and en (favor) of Northern Mandarin, become ngai, nge, and ngen, respectively.

5. The common Northern Mandarin unrounded back vowel ə̂, found in such words as kə̂, written as ke in the Wade-Giles system of Romanization, (elder brother), hə̂ or he (river), is replaced by a rounded o generally. The same back vowel in other Northern Mandarin words such as te (to obtain, se (color), che (this), k'e (guest), etc., is replaced by a front vowel e (which sounds like a in chaotic) in many Southern Mandarin dialects.

6. There is only one final nasal after the vowels ə, i, u, ü, and it is generally n.

7. While in a few special areas there are five or even six tones, most of the dialects of this group have four tones. The ancient "entering" tone is mixed with the "even" tone of words with voiced initials.

As to the Hsiang dialects, those spoken in western Hupeh, western Hunan, and northern Kwangsi closely resemble Southwestern Mandarin. However, those spoken in central Hupeh, especially around Wuchang, Hankow, and Hanyang, present two special features. One is the diphthongization of the simple vowel u after dental initials. For example, tu (stomach) becomes tou, and nu (angry) becomes nou.

The other is the substitution of palatal initials for retroflexes, and the front vowel ü for the back vowel u in certain words. For example, ts'u (to go out) becomes ts'ü, tsu (pig) becomes tsü and su (book) becomes sü. The dialects spoken in eastern Hupeh and northern Kiangsu differ from those spoken in Wuchang, Hankow, and Hanyang in their tonal system which more or less preserves the ancient "entering" tone without any association with the final glottal stop. In some dialects spoken in eastern Hupeh, we find the ancient "falling" tone developed into two tones, depending on the voiced or voiceless quality of the initial. Consequently these dialects have five and even six tones.

A major characteristic of the Hsiang dialects that distinguishes them as a whole from Southwestern Mandarin is their preservation of the ancient voiced stops and affricatives either completely or incompletely in the initial system. This is of special historical significance since these consonants have been preserved in no other dialect within the entire Mandarin group.

C. Kan-Hakka

The Kan and Hakka dialects are grouped together for discussion for two reasons. One is that in both the ancient voiced stops and affricatives have changed to aspirated voiceless sounds in all cases. The other is that in many places in Kiangsi, the Hakka speaking and non-Hakka speaking peoples have mingled so well that it is difficult to say whether the dialects they speak are pure Hakka, pure Kan, or just a mixture of both. However, when the two dialects are not mixed, they are distinguishable.

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1. Kan

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Kan differs from Hakka mainly in the tonal system and final consonants. The number of tones varies from six to seven, but the ancient "entering" tone remains undifferentiated. In some extremely simple dialects within the group, the final p, t, k, once associated with the "entering" tone, have totally disappeared. As to the nasal finals, m is scarcely heard, while n and ng are seldom differentiated before i, e, u, etc.

Like Southwestern Mandarin, most Kan dialects do not differentiate between initial n and l, but unlike Mandarin, Kan dialects substitutes t and t' for retroflex initials. For instance, Mandarin chih (to know) becomes ti, and ch'uan (a stream) becomes t'uan, etc. Another unique characteristic of Kan is its simplification of common diphthongs such as ai and ao. Thus, Mandarin tai (to substitute) becomes ta, and kao (to tell) becomes kɔ (ɔ sounds like a in all). Finally, it may be added that the loss of final n after the vowel a and the nasalization of the vowel often occur in Kan.

2. Hakka

Hakka has the following special features:
a) It replaces the Mandarin zero-initial with a voiced labio-dental fricative when it is followed by the vowel u. For instance, Mandarin u (black), uei (to surround), uan (ten thousand), and uen (to interrogate), written as wu, wei, wan, and wen respectively in the Wade-Giles romanized spelling, become vu, vi, van, and ven. Moreover, words of this category which originally had an initial m in ancient times,

have retained the ancient initial. Thus, the word for "ten thousand" is also pronounced man, and that for "to interrogate" may also be pronounced men. 197 194

b) Before mid and low vowels, ng and the zero-initial are contrasted: thus, ngon (bank, coast): on (table); ngao (proud) : ao (difficult).

c) While its h is the same as that of Mandarin, it becomes an f when it precedes the vowel u. Thus, Mandarin hung (red) becomes fung, and hua (flower) becomes fa.

d) It has no ü sound. For instance, Mandarin ch'ü (to go), yüan (round), and yün (cloud) become k'i, ien, and iun respectively.

e) Final m, p, t, and k are retained: Mandarin chin (gold) tsa (mixed), sha (to kill), and shih (stone) becomes kim, ts'ap, sat, and siak respectively.

f) There are six to seven tones, two of which are derived from the ancient "entering" tone and associated with final p, t, and k.

D. Cantonese

Since the dialects within the Cantonese group often differ quite noticeably, an attempt is made here to deal mainly with standard Cantonese, which is the dialect of the metropolis of Canton. The remarkable features of the "Si Yap" dialects, however, will also be touched upon.

As the development of ancient voiced stops and affricatives is an important criterion for the grouping of dialects, it must be pointed out here that in this respect Cantonese is very much like Mandarin. That is to say, they both have unvoiced such voiced stops

which have become aspirated or unaspirated as conditioned by the tone. 197 194

The special features of the initial system of Cantonese are:

1. F replaces the h and in certain cases of Mandarin when they are followed by u. Thus, Mandarin hu (tiger) and k'u (bitter) both become fu, huo (fire) becomes fo, and k'uai (fast) becomes fai.
2. In some other cases Mandarin k' is replaced by h: Mandarin k'e (can, may) becomes ho in Cantonese.
3. There is no retroflex initial.
4. Its preservation of the ancient final consonants m, n, ng, p, t, and k seems to be more perfect than that of Hakka and Southern Min. By "perfect" is meant that not only the exact number of six, but also the distribution of words in each of the categories.
5. The number of tones in Cantonese dialects varies from six to nine. The nine tones of standard Cantonese are: high-falling (ancient "even" voiceless initials), low-falling (ancient "even," voiced initials), high-rising (ancient "rising," voiceless initials), low-rising (ancient "rising," voiced initials), mid-high level (ancient "falling," voiceless initials), mid-low level (ancient "falling," voiced initials) high-level short (ancient "entering," voiceless initials and relatively high vowels), mid-level short (ancient "entering" voiceless initials and relatively low vowels), and low-level short (ancient "entering," voiced initials). Of these, the first one had a sandhi form, that is, it changes to high-level when preceding another word in connected speech.

E. Southern Min

The Swatow and Hainan dialects in this region

belong to the Southern Min group, which includes also the eminent Amoy dialect. As a whole, the Southern Min group of dialects is closely related to the Northern Min group, which is typified by the dialect of Foochow. All Min dialects have the following features in common:

1. There is no labial fricative sound. For example, Mandarin f is replaced by h, p, or p'. Hence, Mandarin fa (law) becomes Foochow huak, Amoy huat, and Swatow huap; Mandarin fan (cooked rice, meal) becomes Foochow puong, Amoy and Swatow pong; and Mandarin fang (fragrant) becomes p'ang in Foochow, Amoy and Swatow alike.
2. Words with dental or retroflex affricative initials in other dialects are replaced by dental stop initials. Thus, Mandarin ch'ih (pond), ch'ou (to extract), and chung (middle) become tie, t'iu, and ting respectively in Foochow, ti, t'iu, and tiong in Amoy, and ti, t'iu, and tong in Swatow.
3. Ancient voiced stops and affricatives have lost their voiced quality just as what has happened to those of the Mandarin dialects. But, unlike Mandarin, they have all become unaspirated instead of being both aspirated and unaspirated as conditioned by tones. Thus, Mandarin p'o (old woman), po (to bind), t'i (topic, title), tan (but), ts'ao (trough), and chin (to exhaust) become po, puok, te, tang, tso, and tseing in Foowchow, po, pak, te, tan, tso, and tsin in Amoy, and po, pak, ti, tang, tso, and tsen in Swatow.
4. There are generally seven or eight tones, and a very elaborate system of tone sandhi, especially in Northern Min.

Southern Min further characterizes itself by the following features:

1. There is a tendency to oralize the nasal initials

when they are not immediately followed by nasalized vowels or the nasal ng. Thus, b, l, g and m, n, ng are distributed complementarily in general. 197 194

2. Nasalized vowels and diphthongs are popular in daily speech, though usually not recorded in dictionaries dealing only with the literary pronunciations.

3. Tone sandhi is very common, but its system is not as elaborate as that of the dialects of Foochow. Each tone has only one sandhi form, no matter what tone the following word may have.

F. Non-Chinese Languages

1) Miao

The Miao language is now generally grouped together with the Yao language as a separate branch of of the vast Sino-Tibetan family of languages, which includes Chinese, T'ai, Annamese, and the Tibeto-Burman languages. Miao and Yao as languages are known under various tribal names in Southwestern China and Indochina. 198

Miao dialects have five tones: high-level, high-rising, low-rising, high-falling, and low-falling. Since most Miao people speak the local dialects of Southwestern Mandarin as well as their own language, many Chinese words have found their way into the Miao dialects. Naturally, such loan words have undergone modifications in pronunciation. For instance, final n is usually replaced by ng, because n does not occur in the final position in the Miao language as a rule.

2. Yao

The Yao language, unlike Miao, has no prenasal-